lt Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no 'Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntieh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting, the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

[Facing p. 534]

A KHASI ARCHERY MEETING.
(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

526

Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains. It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hâts, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

May each year. The following is a description of a Khasi archery meeting, for the details of which I am largely indebted to U Job Solomon. By way of introduction it should be stated that the Khasis opine that arrow-shooting originated at the beginning of creation. The Khasi Eve (*Ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum*) had two sons to whom she taught the toxophilite art, at the same time she warned them never to lose their tempers over the game. At the present day villages have regular archery meetings, the men of one village challenging those of another. There are men on both sides called *nong khan khnam* (lit., he who stops the arrow). This man, by uttering spells, and reciting the shortcomings of the opposite side, is supposed to possess the power of preventing the arrows of the opposing party hitting the mark. These men also, to some extent, may be said to perform the duties of umpires. They may be styled umpires for the sake of convenience in this account. Before the match commences conditions are laid down by the umpires of both sides, such as (*a*) the day on which the contest is to take place; (*b*) the place of the meeting; (*c*) the number of arrows to be shot by each archer; (*d*) the distinguishing marks to be given to the arrows of either side; (*e*) the amounts of the stakes on each side; (*f*) the number of times the competitors are to shoot on the day of the archery meeting, and many other conditions too numerous to mention here. The targets are generally small bundles of grass called "*u skum*," about 1 ft. long by 4 in. in diameter, fastened on a small pole. Sometimes targets are made from the root of a plant called *ka soh pdung*. The distances from the point where the marksmen stand to the targets are some 40 to 50 yards. Each side has its own target, the different targets being placed in a line, and the competitors taking up their positions in a straight line at right angles to the line of fire, and facing the targets; each side in turn then shoots at its own target. Early in the morning of the day fixed for the contest the umpire of each side sits in front of his target with a hollow bamboo full of water in his hand, the bows and arrows being laid on the ground alongside the targets. The umpire then repeats all the conditions of the contest, invokes the aid of the primeval woman (*ka mei ka nong hukum*) aforesaid, goes through

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

526 certain incantations freely referring to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blang* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *nong khang khnam* and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, an arrow shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 150 to 180 yards.

524 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
177 being indigenous and not an importation, but Bivar thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Sylhetis or the Assamese of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "hop Scotch" (*khyndat mala shito* and *ia tiet hile*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:—

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*ia tur masi*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Suhtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in former days was an important one, and there is abundant evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

women from the War country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwai with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (u *Jylliew*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "u *lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngams "*Ka sylliar*" (Garo *simpak*). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the *sacrieng* tree taking their place. The leaves are then thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngams fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngams are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Job's-tears and millet. They eat aroids largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngams are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are overgrown families. The Lyngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

411
284 arc height since the strings are as long as the bows.

411
524 The Khasi make the following kinds of arrows:

1. Feathered arrows ('nam-pur).
2. Unfeathered arrows ('nam).

Feathered or unfeathered ones are: a) hunting arrows, b) arrows for sport. Always feathered are c) children's arrows.

Ad a) Hunting arrows (u 'nam-pliang) are about 70 centimeters long, and have tips like a spear with barbs. (8) The weight of the hunting

8. Illustration II, figs. 2a, 2b.

arrows is about 25 grams. These arrows are still poisoned nowadays.

Ad b) Arrows for sport (u 'nam-sop) are about 60 centimeters long and have round, conical iron tips. (9) Weight of the arrow for

9. Illustration II, fig. 1.

sport is about 6 grams.

Ad c) Children's arrows (u 'nam-phiah) are about 50 centimeters long, and have round points or none at all. The feathering is different from that of the other arrows (cf. the latter).

411 Shafts of the Arrows

All the arrows are made of a very thin bamboo (u 'nam-long or igrâ) and smoked. When possible bamboo free of knots is used. The arrow is about 6 to 7 millimeters thick. The length of the arrow varies greatly. For the arrow and the bow must complement each other inwardly just as they belong together externally. (10)

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• 526
526
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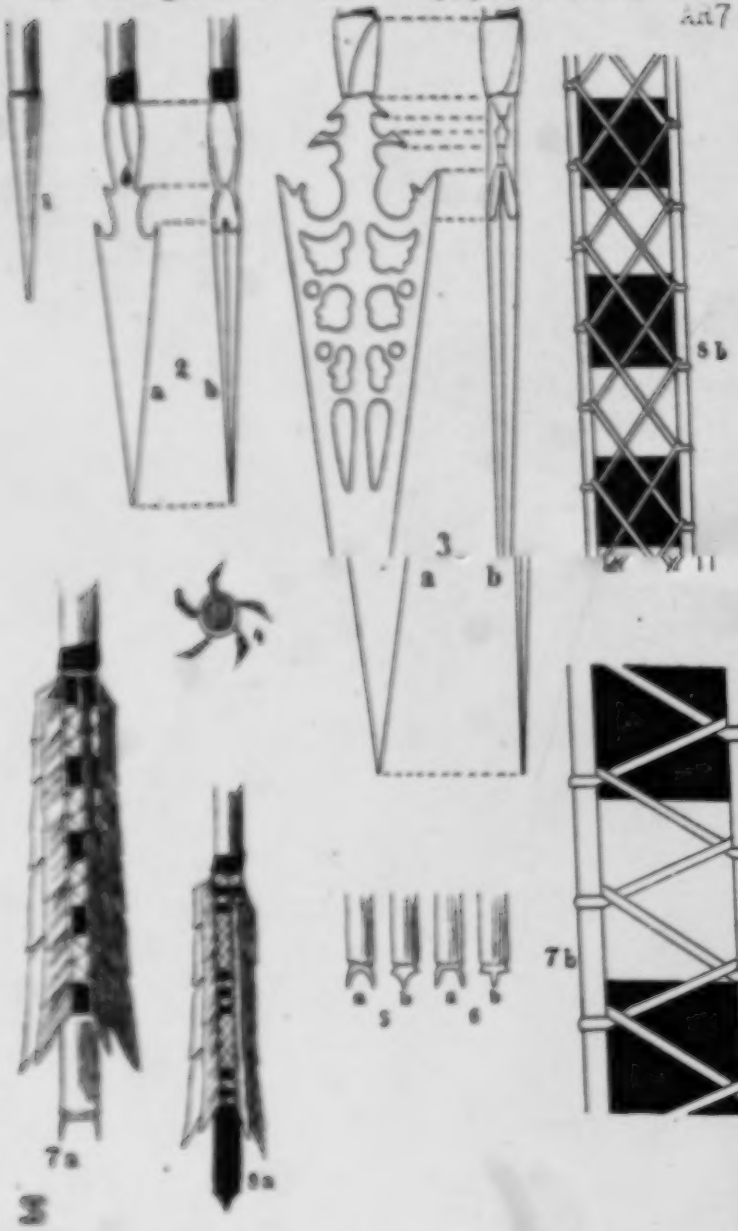

Fig. 2

411

10. Dr. A. Aarute, Die afrikanischen Bogen, Pfeile und Köcher in Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde (African Bows, Arrows and Quivers in the Lübeck Ethnological Museum) (Lübeck, 1930) p. 219.

There is no doubt that the length of the arrow depends on the length of the bow. A large, but less flexible bow does not need so long (611) (Illustration 11. Khasi Arrows. Figs. 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b.) (612) an arrow as a smaller more flexible one. The absolute length of the bow conditions the length of the arrow to the extent that usually a longer bow requires a longer arrow. (11). Arrows for sport will [52c].

11. Bruno Adler, op. cit. p. 13.

float horizontally on water. (12)

12. "Veniaminoff relates (Sepiski ob ostrovah Unalaschkinskago otdiela [notes on the Island of the Unalaska Territory], vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1840) of the Aleutians that the tips of their arrows, especially the ones used in hunting beaver, have such a weight distribution that the arrow does not sink in the water in spite of the heavy shaft nor does it lie on the water, but floats upright, so that a piece almost a foot long sticks up above the surface of the water."

Arrow Tips

911
326 The arrow tips are made of iron in the village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrow (a-ma-ling) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15 centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

[324]

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

• [326] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('am-sap) are round and conical. Length is about 5 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with (an ash) poison which the Sheet obtain from the tuber of a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

911 The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 3.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is cut in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a [illegible] long (kind of bamboo) in

such a way that the notch can be cut directly after a knot. The purpose of the notch is to be able to set the arrow easily on the string. There are two kinds of notches: 411

1. Notches which resemble the curve of a Moorish bow. (14)

14. Illustration II, figs. 5a, 5b.

2. Notches which have an even flatness at the bottom and a point on the left and the right. (15)

15. Illustration II, figs. 6a, 6b.

Relationship of the Cut Surface to the Notch.

The large spear-shaped tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pling) are made with the wide flat part at right angles to the notch and thus to the string of the bow. (16)

16. Bruno Adler, op. cit., p. 607.

Markings on the Arrows.

[504] Many arrows (arrows for sport 'nam-sup) are marked with black lacquer from the end of the base of the feathering to the notch, so that the arrows of the teams can be told apart in shooting competitions. (17)

17. Illustration II, fig. 6a.

Feathering the Arrows 411 A37

The Ehasi have two ways of feathering:
1. Radial even feathering.
2. Tangential tied feathering.

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411. 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

(611) Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 411 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka soh pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

411 over backwards by th impact of the arrows.
526 Bunches of grass of straw, u skum, are taken and fastened to a pole. The distance between the shooters and the target is quite varied, 50 to 100 meters being the usual distance. The Khasi bows can shoot an arrow a great distance with accuracy. Good shots hit the target even at a distance of 200 meters. The average shot can stand at a distance of 130 to 170 meters. Consideration is taken of younger archers, but if the distance has been established, it must be very carefully adhered to. A string is stretched along the ground which indicates exactly where the shooter must stand.

411 Ways of Bending the Bow

It takes a lot of practice and especially a great deal of strength to hit a definite mark. The archer usually gets down on his right knee and grasps the bow, with his left arm stretched out, somewhat below the middle of the ribbed band and braces his thumb against the bow. He places the arrow with his right hand. The arrows shoot out on the left side of the bow. Some release the arrow between the middle finger and the index finger which is held somewhat bent. The right hand braces the end of the arrow in the notch on the string and holds it firm with the thumb and bent index finger. With the head bent a little to the left and aiming with the right eye, string and arrow are pulled at the same time and after the bow has been pulled to the correct tension, the arrow is released. (22) Only the best shots

22. Hans von Stüssi, Mit Pfeil und Bogen (With Bow and Arrow).

411 2 centimeters. On the two sticks on each of the same sides is a bamboo strip covered around with palm reed which is tied with palm reed at intervals of 3 to 5 centimeters. Weight of the quiver 220 grams.

2. Archery Contests

526 Arrows are shot on every big market day which occurs every eight days. The men and youths of a village gather together, go to the place chosen for the contest and practise industriously, because everyone wants to win in the big contest. These usually take place from January to May. Large factions develop then: village against village. The number of participants must be equally large. Each faction has its own shooting place with its own target, each next to one another. The archers by tens are placed in a line and are the same distance from the target as the string stretched on the ground indicates. Each receives three arrows for a round. The watchers and the judges are placed near the target at right angles to the archers. Both factions name their judges themselves. The latter select a fortunate day by egg throwing; (24) they choose the

24. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", /Egg Throwing Among the Khasi/ Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

place of the contest as well as the number of participants and the arrows to be shot. They also measure the exact distance from the target, place the string on the ground, examine the

arrows for their markings and arrange the whole contest. 526

Early in the morning on the day of the contest, each judge, accompanied by the archers and several curious people, goes to the place of the festivity. There he stands before the target, which was set up the day before. The bows and arrows are placed beside the target. The judge now proclaims aloud again 526 all the conditions of the contest. He calls upon the Khasi Eve (ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum (25) 782

25. The Khasi believe that arrow shooting began with the creation of the world. For the Khasi Eve had two sons. She taught them the art of arrow shooting but warned them at the same time never to lose their tempers while playing. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.55. [772]

for her help and in a rambling speech recites all the errors of the opponents (26). While

26. The Khasi believe that the opponents' arrows will be kept from hitting the target by invoking the Khasi Eve and by the utterances of the judge. Gurdon, p. 55.

he is speaking thus, he pours water [616] from time to time out of a bamboo tube that was brought along in front of the target. Because of the talkativeness of the Khasi and their peculiarity of talking extemporaneously and their slowness this lasts about two hours.

526 hours. Meanwhile all the archers and many people have arrived. The judge gets up and turns to the archers, talking eagerly and spurring them on to do their best, so that they may emerge as victors in the contest. Shrieking lowaly and making a noise, the archers take their places by the string lying on the ground and each pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, peace evaluation) as a contribution. It is customary in many places to charge a larger amount. The money is collected by the judge (u-nong-khang-khnam) and kept until the end of the year. After the last contest it is spent for the "festival after the archery contest."

When the money has been paid and some liquor (ka-kiad-um) is poured on the ground, the contest begins. The archers bend their bows and each one aims and shoots as he wishes. If an arrow hits the mark, a loud cry comes from the spectators. The men jump in the air and utter cries of joy. The archer himself gets up, turns around in a circle a couple of times, jumps in the air and swings his bow, uttering
526 cries of joy continuously. Now, since first
522 this one and then that one hits the mark, whether it is someone in one's own faction or one of the opponents, cries of joy and rejoicings may be heard almost without interruption. The people of one's own team try to spur on each archer during his round by shouts. For example, if an archer has a black (marked) arrow, they shout: "to, to ba iong ba iong! i.e., hit, hit black one, black one!" In this case the opponent has the white arrows. If such an arrow goes crooked and flies past the target, they shout at it: "Phui, phui kyndat shiliang, rakaid ne, u rakaid! i.e. fie, [illegible] you fly to one side, you bungler, yo

bungler!" (27) When the opponent aims and 526 522

27. P.C. Bohnheim, "Das Pfeilshiessen der Khasi" /Arrow Shooting Among the Khasi/, Salvatoranische Milleilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1910, No. 2.

shoots they shout at him: "Bam khyndeu, bam shiap! i.c., eat earth, eat sand!" (The opponent's arrow is supposed to fly into the earth or sand). There is ample opportunity here for talking extemporaneously as the Khasi so love to do. Following the examples mentioned above they shout at the archers of their own team or of the opponents' team. At the same time I have never noticed that [578] anybody felt insulted or that quarrels and fights ever arose. If somebody feels affected by the remarks, he or one of his team tries to overtrump his opponent by a really potent remark. If that is successful everybody rejoices in the comment and the round 526 of shooting continues peacefully. When a round of ten or more archers who have each shot three or more arrows is finished, the judge enters the closed-off place and counts out loud the arrows sticking in the target. With a great hullabaloo the crowd confirms the number of hits; the opponents do the same and then the contest begins again with all the /617/ action described above. When this process has been repeated often, a longer pause occurs. During this, and often during the shorter recess after each round, the women and girls hand out refreshments. The water pipe makes the rounds and no one spares praises. Thus it continues till

●526 sunset. (28)

28. The two large photographs were taken at this late hour. One picture (Plate I) during the sunset. Notice the long shadows. The other picture (Plate II) just after sunset.

When the target is no longer easily visible because of the twilight, the shooting is stopped. The judges now announce the final result out loud, which provokes stormy applause. After the judges are remembered with presents by their own factions, the archers come together in a group. They stand one behind another in a row, each row with about four to six archers. The battling factions stand opposite each other. Waving their bows longways up and down --the men on the outside swing theirs--they march up and down on the festival place, stamping their feet in a quick rhythm. Singing and shouting they go back and forth. First one team then the other goes backwards. This kind of joyful utterance cannot actually be called singing; it is rather a quick uniformly modulated recitative uttered in an excited tone, interrupted again and again by "ha, ha, hoi, hoi" (kynha, kynhoi is the same as ha, hoi, i.e. shouting, calling). Someone or other of the victorious team makes a verse on the spur of the moment, which is about the contest, and the dancing, marching crowd repeats it noisily. Or rather after each verse they burst out with cries of joy and pleasure (ha, ha, hoi, hoi).

533 To give an example how these verses sound approximately, I will give an original text with a literal and a free translation. (29)

29. For the German translation and

the added explanations I am indebted to the Khasi missionary R.P. Dominikus Daunderer, S.D.S., who has been here many years and knows the language and who very kindly placed his experiences in this field at my disposal. 533

It should be noticed in general that the content of such extemporaneous verses has a religious slant and the language adheres to the mysterious method of expression of magic formulae and other formulae usual in the religious customs of the Khasi. Nevertheless, we may not seek for either secrets or magic in the following chant (jingphawar) just as the Khasi do not. The solo singer (u nongphawar) goes in front of the victorious team and begins: [771] 526• 533

1. U dieng-duh u kyndeh
The placing, the rice.
U sohbyrthit ia u pathaw.
The bur, the gourd.

2. To ngin khynniuh tyngeh.
Let us shake mightily.
Ban shon shit la ka daw.
May our matter be in easy circumstances.

Then the rest shout, swinging their bows and stamping the earth: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!" [618]

3. Ka syrdeng u jasieh
The fence, the meadow.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Four moles.

4. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Let us place upright the wood of the bow.

• 526
533 Ko samila kynrad
Youths, o lords.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

5. Ka syrdeng u jasieh,
The fence, the meadow.
U thylliej ka shohtkah.
The tongue, the little red
throat.

6. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Place upright the wood of the
bow.
Ban ieit ka daw bah,
So that the affair be loved,
the big one.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

7. U narsuh, shibidi.
Iron, wire, four pieces.
U bisin ia ka syrdeng.
The snake, the fence.

8. La kynduh bad ngi.
When one battles with us.
Ngin pynkhein ia ka reng.
Then we break the horn.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

9. U kyndeh ia u bisong.
The rice, the weasel.
Ka lengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.

10. To lyngngeh la ka jingong.
Make your word hard

521
583

Ba un jem ka jabieng
That the forehead may become
soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

11. Ka liengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.
U pathau u jalimut.
The gourd, the chrysanthemum.

12. Ba un jem ka jabieng.
That the forehead may become soft.
Ba un jaw ka eit mut.
That the mucous discharge from
the nose become soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

13. U synret u kyndok.
The nettle, the brimstone.
U sohryngkham shi hynda.
Wild plums, four pieces.

14. Mat iam rem ko lok.
Do not weep defeated, friend.
Ba la bam hi ka pasa.
For the Pasa itself has consumed it. (30)

30. Ka pasa is probably a deaoness, guardian spirit of the shooters and hunters (-hsau?). Sanskrit: pasa--string, snare (Lue).

As may be seen, such a song (jingkaar) is not easily understood. In the first odd lines, words that are (seemingly) without

526 533 meaning are placed next to each other usually a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

6. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
8. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

[522] 526 273 (0197) Singing in this way with mocking songs to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the festival. Liquor is brought and drunk zealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd, lighted by the torches, aroused by the frenzy, and excited by the shooting competition, makes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

526 The cost of an archery contest varies

The cost of an archery contest varies 835
considerably. In general it can be said that 526
a shooter pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, 525
peace evaluation) for each shot. All the various competitions together produce a tidy little sum, especially when the attendance is good. I have come across figures as high as 50 to 70 rupees which were got together in this way during the course of a year and were then spent at the end of the year together at a great feast after the main competition.

It is frequently the custom among the Synteng, not to collect this contribution, anna by anna; rather, a large sum, which is raised by collecting signatures, is bet with the opponent at the main shooting (the final game). This also occurs occasionally among the Khasi. (31)

31. Gurdon, The Khasis, reports on page 56 that a sum of 500 rupees was bet in the Nongkrem state in Khadar Blang at a shooting competition.

5. The Feast after the Archery Contest 527

A general feast is arranged with the money bet or saved. Everything is just as wild during this feast as during the archery competition. Several strong men go forth to fetch the pigs bought for this occasion. The living animals are tied to bamboo poles by their feet. Four men, two and two alternately, carry each a burden on their shoulders to the place of the festival. There is lively activity at that place. The men stand around huge fires and chat. Others busily arrange dishes and pots of brass --everything polished

8: Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the unconsumed bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawshiang*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawshiang*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat long lait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the unconsumed bones are subsequently removed from the *mawshiang*, and are placed in the family mausoleum, or *mawbah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Bindwell describes it as follows:—

[illegible] Such case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-breaking is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Bindwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Aromean Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

10. *Khasi archery.*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., u shum, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdung*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongkuia*, or sacrificer, performs a puja and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kyndoi*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongkuia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei lumpyuh* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 776 782

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Iawbei tynnon*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. 782

AR7 Ahasi AK

526

[011a] Table I

4: Stegmiller - ..-4,5, (No date) 1925
AR7 Khasi ...

• 526

p. 18

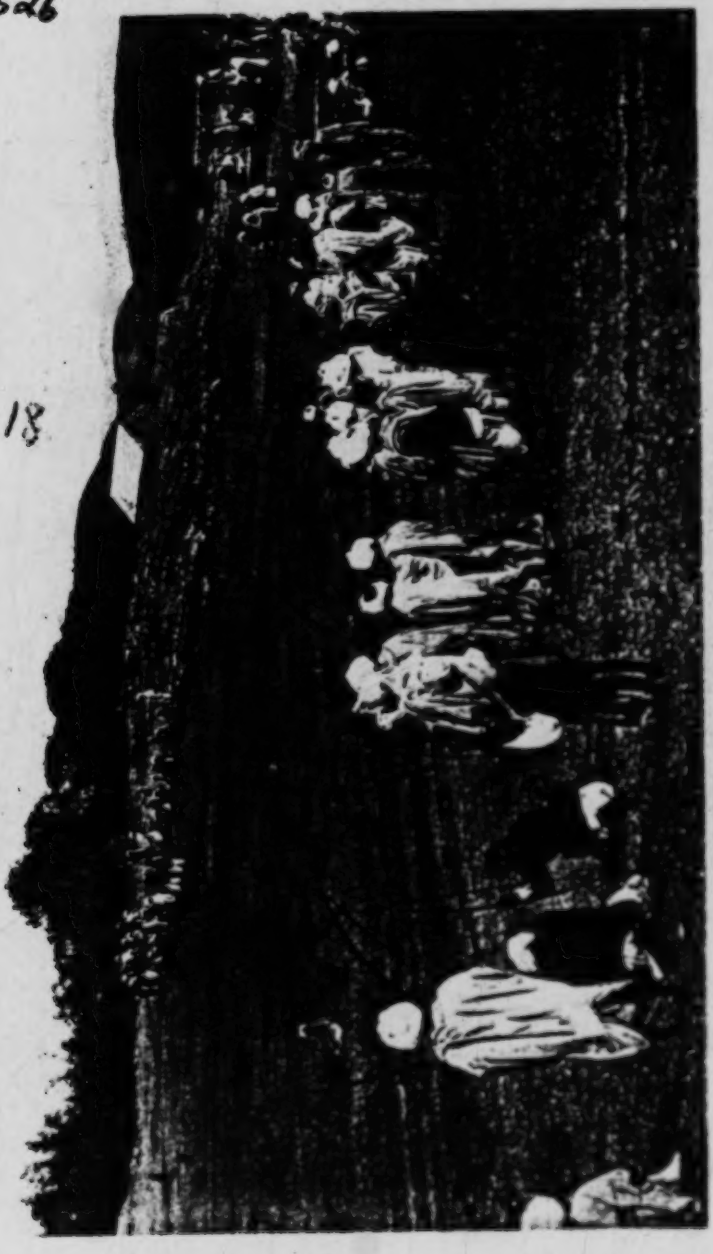

Table II

16: McCormack E-4.5 (1904-1906) (1944)

[P. 1068]

children, but Christian influence has weakened or driven underground the consumption by women and children, industrial arts. The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a male specialty carpentry and a couple utilitarian handcrafts. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, axes, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Mawsynram village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia Hills, Lyngngam, West); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Nongwang and Nongtung villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of pointed earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, the innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes (J.J. Darrah 1906, C. W. 1052). Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, each of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small rice contains at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional products and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, ginger, betles, lac, cotton, cane, cheese, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bamboos, sugar cane, oranges, tej, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, [illegible] pots, crockery, porcelain objects, cloth, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for entertainment (including archery competitions), courting, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds (J.J. Bagmullar 1950s). Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the rainfed fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also take men's